DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 362 863 CS 214 049

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TITLE The Next Step: Showing a Common History of Treatment for Minorities, Women and Gays in Media Content, Newsrooms and Journalism Schools; A Proposal for Further Research and Suggestions for a Curriculum.
PUB DATE Aug 93
NOTE 34p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (76th, Kansas City, MO, August 11-14, 1993).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Viewpoints (Opinion/Position Papers, Essays, etc.) (120) -- Tests/Evaluation Instruments (160)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Blacks; Females; Higher Education; Homosexuality; *Journalism Education; Labeling (of Persons); *Mass Media Role; Multicultural Education; Research Needs; *Stereotypes
IDENTIFIERS Curriculum Implementation; Educational Issues; Journalism Schools

ABSTRACT

This paper argues for discussion on the idea that "multi-culturalism" programs at universities, and particularly in journalism programs, should include exposure to gay/lesbian/bisexual issues in addition to material about minorities and women. The paper's premise is that blacks, women, and gays have received similarly shoddy, stereotypical treatment in the nation's news product, newsrooms, and journalism schools. The paper examines the media content, newsroom conditions for and journalism treatment of first gays, then women, and finally, blacks. The paper then presents some general suggestions about incorporating diversity in pre-existing or special journalism courses. The paper provides examples of "closeted" history and issues pertaining to gays. The methodology and results of a pilot study along with a journalist survey which could be applied to gay, women, black, and non-minority journalists are attached. (Contains 61 notes and 39 references.) (RS)

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THE NEXT STEP: SHOWING A COMMON HISTORY OF TREATMENT FOR MINORITIES, WOMEN AND GAYS IN MEDIA CONTENT, NEWSROOMS AND JOURNALISM SCHOOLS; A Proposal for Further Research and Suggestions for a Curriculum.

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TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

"The subtlest and most pervasive of influences are those which create and maintain the reportory of stereotypes. We are told about the world before we see it. We imagine most things before we experience them. And those preoccupations, unless education has made us acutely aware, govern deeply the whole process of perception. Walter Lippman (Art.10)

THE NEXT STEP: SHOWING A COMMON HISTORY OF TREATMENT FOR MINORITIES, WOMEN AND GAYS IN MEDIA CONTENT, NEWSROOMS AND JOURNALISM SCHOOLS; A Proposal for Further Research and Suggestions for a Curriculum.

The parallels between the treatment of blacks in the 1960s and present day treatment of gays are growing ever more obvious. Communities around the nation consider including sexual orientation language in prevailing human rights ordinances. And gays are coming under increasing fire, in a manner reminiscent of the backlashes against the gains of blacks and women.

This paper is a proposal and invitation for further discussion on the author's premise that "multi-culturalism" programs at universities, and particularly in journalism programs, should include exposure to gay/lesbian/bisexual issues(hereinafter referred to as gay issues) in addition to material about minorities and women. The author's premise is that blacks, women, and gays have received similarly shoddy, stereotypical treatment in our nation's news product, newsrooms, and journalism schools.

The structure of this paper will examine the media content, newsroom conditions for and journalism school treatment of first gays, then women, and, finally, blacks. These sections will be followed by some general suggestions about incorporating diversity in pre-existing or special journalism courses. The paper provides examples of "closeted" history and issues pertaining to gays, followed by a proposal for a content analysis and journalist survey which could be applied to gays, women, blacks, and non-minority journalists.

While the author found ample information about the treatment of women and blacks in media messages, newsrooms and journalism schools, such was not the case for gays. Unfortunately, most such studies to date have been largely anecdotal in nature.

Some already available material, however(such as the anecdote which follows), points toward ripe areas for future research.

A 'GENERALLY ANGRY' PEOPLE?--Stereotype from College Radio

In September, 1992, a telecommunications student at a large Southeastern University aired a story about gay rights activists being arraigned for trespassing after the local city commission passed a resolution equating homosexuality with various crimes, including pedophilia, necrophilia, and bestiality. Outraged, some activists had "taken over" commission chambers and were singing the song Holly Near wrote after the murder of San Francisco Supervisor Harvey Milk. The song's chorus is: "We are a gentle, angry people. And we are singing, singing for our lives."

But the student was confused. Her copy read that the activists had sung, "We are a generally angry people." The mistake seemed humorous until the student said that she'd thought it was odd that gays would admit "how angry they were" in a song.

Curious about this student's knowledge of current events concerning gays, the instructor mentioned Harvey Milk, and was greeted with a blank stare. After telling the

student about Milk's murder, the instructor asked about Fred Paez and received the same response.[1] The student also knew nothing about the Stonewall riots.

Such ignorance on the part of our journalism students can no longer be excused in the face of the virulent, violent, and sometimes fatal attacks facing Americans with a sexual orientation other than heterosexual.

A SUMMARY OF PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSAULTS ON GAYS

In March, 1993 the Southern Poverty Law Center filed suit against three U.S. Marines charged in the January, 1993 beating of a North Carolina gay man. The center has, for twenty-two years, waged legal battles against white supremacist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan and the White Aryan Resistance. "We see very little difference between Klansmen beating up a black person in Southern Georgia and three Marines beating up a gay person in North Carolina or anywhere else in the United States,"said attorney Morris Dees, adding that their message is, "If you bash somebody, you're going to have to pay."

It's a lesson many Americans apparently have yet to learn. In 1990, according to the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD) over 7,000 hate crimes against lesbians and gay men were reported. (That figure becomes more shocking when considered with the Kinsey Institute's estimate that there are over 20 million homosexuals in the United States.)

But could this violence have some roots in hatred spread by religious fundamentalists", reconstructionists", and "postmilleniumists"?[2]

Leading reconstructionists have taken to our nation's mainstream call-in shows airing such views as:

> *"The Bible doesn't say that homosexuals should be executed. What it says is this: If two men lie together like a man and a woman lie together, they are to be put to death."*[3]

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[1] Fred Paez was a Houston gay rights leader. The Houston Police Officer who, in 1980, shot Paez point-blank in the head claimed it was self-defense, and was acquitted in a trial with noted irregularities.

[2] The concept of"reconstruction", according to researcher Sara Diamond, author of "Spiritual Warfare: The Politics of the Christian Right" is based on an eschatological position called "postmillenialism"--the idea that the return of Christ will not occur until after a thousand-year earthly reign by Christians. Some "postmills" believe the millenium is already underway while others believe the start of the thousand-year reign can be hastened as Christians take over society. "Postmillenialists" seek to evangelize entire institutions. Diamond defines "reconstructionism" from a 1988 pamphlet by Reformation Covenant Church in Boise, Idaho:

"Christian Reconstructionism is a call to the Church to awaken to its biblical responsibility to subdue the earth for the glory of God. While holding the priority of individual salvation, Christian Reconstruction also holds that cultural renewal is to be the necessary and expected outworking of the gospel as it progressively finds success in the lives and hearts of men. Christian Reconstruction therefore looks for and works for the rebuilding of the institutions of society according to a biblical blueprint."

[3] Gary DeMar, a leading Christian Reconstructionist's comments on WSB-Atlanta's "Sound Off". Transcript was printed in "The Freedom Writer: the national newsletter that defends the separation of church and state". DeMar claimed such comments don't mean that all homosexuals should be killed, but didn't disagree with the talk-show host's conclusion that homosexuals "caught-in-the-act" within their own homes by police should be executed.

Other "reconstructionists" blame AIDS on society's "failure" to be intolerant of the "perversion" of homosexuality.[4]

Their battle cry was taken up on a nearly daily basis by talk-show host Rush Limbaugh, according to Los Angeles Times reporters monitoring him immediately following a December 11, 1990 service disruption at St. Patrick's Cathedral by AIDS and abortion activists. After "reeling off a string of anti-gay epithets", Limbaugh said:

> *"I know that I speak for the decent and normal citizens of this country when I say to those of you of the leftist, militant, homosexual crowd: Take it somewhere else. Get out of our schools. Get out of our churches. Take your deadly, sickly behavior and keep it to yourselves."*

Limbaugh's diatribe is similar to the theme of Dr. Paul Cameron, whom Diamond terms "By far the most rabid of the anti-gay propagandists...director of the misnamed Institute for the Scientific Investigation of Sexuality in Lincoln, Nebraska." Diamond says that in a January, 1987 appearance on Family Christian Broadcasting Network, Cameron blamed AIDS on what he termed American homosexuals' "worldwide sex tours", in which they ingested feces and urine of homosexuals on different continents. "Homosexuals have a different way of having sex," he said. "You are mixing germs on a worldwide basis." (Diamond, 1989, pp.101-104)

Sounding a similar note, Jerry Falwell increased his gay-bashing in a spring 1987 fundraising letter (after the PTL debacle) accusing the "gay influenced" media and politicians of covering up the "truth" that gays were donating blood three times more often than other citizens because "they know they are going to die-and they are going to take as many people with them as they can." (Diamond, p.100)

Indeed, it could be argued (and study is needed) as to whether coverage of AIDS mirrored the changing approach of the fundamentalists: first ignoring the matter because "normal" Americans weren't affected, and then (after the "sin of sodomy" theory had failed before their eyes) focusing on "good versus bad victims"--an approach requiring someone be blamed for the epidemic(Diamond, p.103).

Ben Bagdikian, retired dean of the University of California-Berkeley school of journalism told the Chicago Tribune (1987):

> "For a long time, the casual observer could see a good deal of indifference (regarding AIDS) in the national press. It wasn't until there was a perceived impact on 'normal people,' on the middle class, that it began to be taken more seriously."

While the fundamentalists didn't let fact get in the way of their AIDS theories, they did manage to impede fact-gathering about homosexuality's origins. According to Jack Anderson, the religious right lobbied to halt funding on a federal study of sheep which indicated a natural distribution of homosexuality within a population. (New York Times, 1991) The study's preliminary reports followed the 1991 release of a study of gay male human twins which indicated genes and not environment play a dominant role in

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[4] One of the books reviewed by Diamond, "Power in the Blood: A Christian Response to AIDS" addresses what Diamond terms the "collective guilt/collective punishment thesis" of leading Reconstructionist R.J. Rushdoony:

"Wherever a society refuses to exact the required death penalty, there God exacts the death penalty on that society. The basic fact of God's law-order is that, from Adam's fall on, the death penalty has been effective. Societies have fallen in great numbers for their defiance of God, and they shall continue to fall as long as their violation of God's order continues. Every state and every society thus faces a choice: to sentence to death those who deserve to die, or to die themselves but all they that hate God choose death. Certainly the sin of presumption is total revolution against God and man; all who permit it have chosen death whether they recognize it or not."

sexual orientation. (A 1993 study of lesbian twins achieved parallel findings of the study of gay twins.)

Studies of biological origins of homosexuality are relatively new. According to a Washington Post article by Christopher Daly, many scientists have been adamant since the mid-60's (even before the American Psychiatric Association (APA) officially removed homosexuality from its list of diseases) about distinct differences in the brain anatomy of males and females, but "it wasn't until the late 1980's that researchers started hunting for such "dimorphism" between gays and heterosexuals." In 1991, Simon Le Vay, a Salk Institute neuroscientist published autopsy results showing differences in the hypothalmus structures of gay and straight men. Since then, there's been a growing body of evidence supporting the thesis that homosexual predisposition is largely an inborn trait. But so far the results are still inconclusive and without widespread confirmation.[5]

Such research can only proceed free of anti-scientific funding attacks in an environment of news media cognizance of the pressures which have been and could be exerted upon it by gay rights opponents.

"Homophobia might be the last acceptable form of discrimination among so-called acceptable Americans, including editors." Loren Ghiglione, 1989-90 President of American Society of Newspaper Editors.

ANTI-GAY PROPAGANDA IN MEDIA MESSAGES

As mentioned previously, there are those who feel the news media followed the fundamentalist 'blaming' agenda concerning AIDS. More research of media messages is needed, but this view of an "anti-gay" media has found support in our nation's newsrooms and journalism schools.

Perhaps the most significant development in newsroom consciousness-raising occurred early in 1990, as a result of the actions of reporters and editors who founded several regional chapters of the National Lesbian and Gay Journalists Association (NLGJA). Their purpose, wrote Seattle Times Journalist Mark Matassa, was to alter misperceptions and address the public's "poor understanding of what it means to be homosexual in America". The group also advocates changes in the AP Stylebook, the reference manual and word-usage guide used by reporters across the country. The journalists want terms and phrases changed so as to not label as shameful a person's sexual orientation.[6]

Perhaps it's no coincidence the NLGJA was founded in the wake of Andy Rooney's slurs made against gays in his syndicated columns and a December 20, 1989 CBS special. Rooney compounded the insult after being pressed by GLAAD to apologize. In an open letter to the Advocate, a gay newsmagazine, he wrote, "I'm sorry I offended so many homosexual people." He then went on to inflame matters and offend CBS brass with a

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[5] "Homosexuality: Is It Mainly in the Genes? A study of lesbian twins suggests so". Christopher B. Daly, The Washington Post National Weekly Edition, March 22-28, 1993. Daly also quoted Marshall Forstein, head of the APA's gay caucus as urging "the scientists-many of whom are gay-to insist on the most rigorous standards of proof", in the face of hope that proof homosexuality is inborn would soften the opposition of critics. Still others warn that if homosexuality is seen as having a physical "cause", then some might decide to seek a physical "cure" similar to Nazi Germany's efforts to surgically "reverse" homosexuality.

[6] Specifically, they want reporters directed to "refer to 'people with AIDS' rather than 'AIDS victims'. They also say gay men and lesbians "who prefer those terms to 'homosexuals'-should be described as 'openly gay' if such a reference is needed, rather than as 'an avowed homosexual' or as somebody who 'admits to being gay'."

graphic description of anal sex, writing, "Do I find the practice...repugnant? I do. Is it ethically or morally wrong or abnormal behavior? It seems so to me." The Los Angeles Times article quotes "knowledgeable sources at CBS News" as saying it was Rooney's open letter, and not his alleged remark that blacks "...have watered down their genes" that resulted in his 3 month suspension from CBS.[7]

It might be argued that gay journalism professionals and gay interest groups were slow to lobby for their interests when compared to similar groups for African-American journalists, Asian-American journalists and other minority interest groups. But the professionals who founded NLGJA beat their academic counterparts to the punch by at least two years, depending upon who's counting.

NLGJA's issues will no doubt receive some airing for the FIRST TIME EVER at the premier organization for journalism and communications educators in August,1993 at the Association for Educators in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC). The newly formed group ("The Lesbian, Gay and Family Interest Group of AEJMC") was spawned from an August, 1991 AEJMC convention seminar held by the "Commission on the Status of Women". The crucial discussion was lead by Rita Addessa, executive director of the Philadelphia Lesbian and Gay Task Force, who criticized Philadelphia's broadcast establishment for its treatment of women, minorities and AIDS. While Addessa pressed Status of Women members to start a group focusing on lesbians, gays and the media, there were dissatisfied rumblings prior to her talk. According to February, 1993 "LGFD Notes", the group perhaps had its origins in past frustrations of "...someone whose research paper was turned down by an existing division that later made it clear that it didn't think gay issues fit its interests."

Meanwhile, a veteran journalist/political writer who's seen the media from the 'other side' as assistant to the mayor of San Francisco since 1988 echoes the views of journalists and academics dissatisfied with the caliber of coverage gay issues receive. In his article entitled "Journalists aren't asking the tough questions" in Newspaper Research Journal's Diversity in the Press issue, Larry Bush(1990, pp.50-51) listed six stories ignored or missed altogether, including:

1. A rise in hate crimes [8]
2. Gay and racial minorities join forces[9]
3. Teen suicides[10]

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[7] Los Angeles Times staff writer Victor F. Zonana.

[8] "When a Long Island gay man was murdered because he was gay-drawing public condemnation from Gov. Mario Cuomo and others-the story was treated almost exclusively as a local issue, with nowhere near the play of the racist murder of a black youth at Howard Beach. The homophobic murder was merely the latest in a series of anti-gay murders from Maine to California-local stories all with no national play."

[9] "By the 1988 elections, gays had joined with racial minorities to establish winning coalitions in nearly every major American city. Because of their joint hostility to Gov. Michael Dukakis, the Democratic nominee-for probably the first time in history-lost nearly every major big city in the primaries. It should have been viewed as the first sign of trouble for the November election, but it went unremarked."

[10] "A federal study on teen suicide was shelved after Republican members of congress complained that the study would include gay teenagers who commit suicide because of coming-out issues. Some estimates are that as many as one-third of all teen suicides are teenagers depressed over sexual orientation. It was the latest example of conservatives using the fear of being "pro-gay" to kill a program they dislike."

4. Bizarre research[11]
5. Silence on AIDS[12]
6. Mutilation in California[13]

Bush made his report while removed from newsroom pressures, working as a political aide. Perhaps his distance helped him speak out. As researcher Leroy Aarons wrote in his 1990 article in Newspaper Research Journal" : "ALTERNATIVES: Gays and Lesbians in the Newsroom, "...there is "...little doubt that there is considerable pain for gay and lesbian journalists."(pp.38-49)

HOMOPHOBES IN THE NEWSROOMS

Aaron's survey, reported in his "Alternatives" article for Newspaper Research Journal, was the first of its kind in that it surveyed gay and lesbian journalists and found that "plenty of anti-gay discrimination infects today's newsrooms."

Only 13% of the 205 respondents dared allow their names used, even though most (59%) said they were "out" to the editors.[14] The majority also felt that most gay and lesbian journalists are "closeted", even though nearly 9 of 10 gay journalists surveyed said that being gay made no difference in their getting quality assignments.

Does being "out" to one's editor increase a gay journalist's likelihood to affect newsroom policy? Not according to this study. 81% of the "out" journalists told Aaron they'd volunteered comments about gay coverage one or more times in the same period. Nearly three quarters of these openly gay respondents also said it had been at least six months since management had approached them on gay-related workplace issues. Perhaps it's no surprise that only 28% of the openly gay respondents said they'd spoken up on workplace concerns. Not surprisingly, 40% claimed to feel uncomfortable about speaking out on gay and lesbian issues.

Aaron's respondents issued a collective grade of "C-minus" for their newspapers' coverage of gay issues and concerns. 83% answered "no" when asked whether they think their newspaper devotes adequate space to issues of concern to gays and lesbians (other than medical).

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11 "Federal researchers in 1982 increased funding to study ways to eliminate homosexuality before birth. More than $6 million was budgeted at the National Institute of Mental Health to study whether fetal injections of male or female hormones might "cure" homosexuals before they were born. That research is going on."

12 "Ronald Reagan went nearly the full eight years of his presidency without speaking on the AIDS epidemic. More to the point, editors apparently were not asking why their reporters didn't ask. The reason is apparent: AIDS is either a local story or a science story, not a White House story, not a political story. That became even more strikingly obvious after Dr. Louis Sullivan won confirmation as Bush's Health and Human Services secretary without facing a single question on his plans to deal with the AIDS epidemic from either congressional committees or the press, which was so eager to push him on abortion and other political bromides."

13 "In California, hundreds, if not thousands, of men lived with the results of judicially ordered castrations performed from the 1930s until physicians refused to cooperate in the 1970s. A substantial number of these "California castrati" are gay men who faced two or more arrests for public sex, today a misdemeanor."

14 One reporter from a small Midwestern paper pleaded for anonymity, saying, "If I'm identified, I will probably be unemployed." She told of two reporters discussing the Super Bowl. "One reporter asked who would win, and the response was 'Cincinnati. Everyone in San Francisco is a faggot, and they don't have any queers in Ohio.' I was sitting three feet away. I don't think I'll be coming out to the staff any time soon."

The most perplexing of his findings was what Aaron termed the "surprising level of ignorance by gay and lesbian journalists about their official workplace policies that have potentially serious consequences for them." Such ignorance is puzzling, especially in the face of rampant homophobia. 81% of the gay journalists polled said they heard derogatory comments about gays or lesbians in general. Nearly 1/2 had heard such comments directed at gay and lesbian employees (but not usually themselves).

Perhaps such ignorance accounts for the fact that only 1/5 of those surveyed said they didn't think their newsroom was a good environment for gays. Certainly in that number is the sports copy editor (a lesbian) who spoke about the abusive environment at the major metro newspaper where she has endured direct and indirect "gaybashing" from male colleagues for over a decade:

> "I've been subjected to the rankest kind of homophobia from a group of individuals whose emotional development seems to have stopped (at age) 14."

She said direct harassment stopped a few years back when she complained to management, but that the indirect abuse continued. "'Fag' and other terms are bandied about without care."

What about journalism schools? The author found no research concerning gay students' treatment, but the recent debate over whether to include sexual orientation in a college town (home to a major Southeastern university) in the local human rights ordinance prompted claims of discrimination in the local NPR affiliate run by the university's college of journalism.

The instructor who serves as the station's news director sounded off in a front page(local) newspaper article in the Fall, when, in response to a demoted on-air anchor's union grievance, she admitted that, yes, she was a conservative Baptist who sees the media as too liberal. She said she was on a "mission" to return journalism back to what she considers the center of the political spectrum.[15] Later in that same article, an anonymous student described the atmosphere in that college-run newsroom as one in which student journalists are afraid to discuss various story ideas for fear of being labeled such things as 'environmentalist' or 'gay'.

Does such abuse and neglect of a minority group in our nation's news product, news rooms, and journalism schools sound familiar? Perhaps it should.

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15 This news director is a very prominent member of an extremely politically active fundamentalist church, which is helping spearhead a fight to pass a state law overturning human rights resolutions such as the one passed March 31, 1993 in this college town. This same church, during the battle for the Equal Rights Amendment, bussed opponents to the state capital to lobby against the ERA.

18 The journalists argued that women were restricted to research positions while men monopolized the editing and reporting slots.

"She's such a good reporter, everyone forgets she's a woman."
ABC correspondent John Scali on AP reporter Frances Lewine(Rivers, 1965, p.111

TREATMENT OF WOMEN IN MEDIA MESSAGES AND NEWSROOMS

Within two weeks' time in March, 1970, feminists protested the portrayal of American women as "happy homemakers" and women journalists filed an EEOC employment discrimination complaint against Newsweek .(Beasley & Gibbons, 1977)[18]

In addition to cries of "marginal relevancy' in our nation's newsroom, it appears very little progress has been made in increasing the numbers of women journalists. (Weaver & Wilhoit, 1986)[19] While the women in journalism sacrificed their traditional roles at home, the increase in the numbers of women in the nation's newsrooms did not alter their subservient roles in the newsroom. A descriptive analysis of American journalists concluded that they were prototypes of the American managerial status quo: predominantly white, Anglo-saxon male Protestants from middle -class backgrounds.(Johnstone, Slawski & Bowman, 1976). Five years later, Stephen Hess(1981) found the ratio of men to women in the Washington media lagged behind the rest of the U.S. by 10 years, and that women reporters were younger(a factor which negatively impacts their on-the-job treatment)[20], employed by the least prestigious media outlets, and, among their peer group, were the least well paid.

Despite a rise in the number of women in newsrooms, 20th century women face some of the same problems that 19th century women practitioners and educators faced--that of how to behave in the male-dominated newsrooms. (Gelfman, 1976, and Kanter, 1977)[21] A common stereotype, and one which women journalists share with black

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21 Women in journalism in the mid 1970's faced the same problems as women in similarly male-dominated occupations: (1) sexually implicit confrontation: (2) being judged primarily as women, confronting the aforementioned harassing behavior cost them prestige both as women and as journalists--assertive women were not considered 'real women' by their male colleagues; (3) being seen as a symbol for their gender; (4) and lagging far behind their male colleagues in terms of salary, promotion, and management positions, even though nearly two-thirds of all journalism students are women.

22 "Mistakes made by one woman are often also attributed to other women."

23 Sponsored by the Gannett Foundation, the University of Missouri and Women in Communications, Inc., the conference report concluded, "Women begin their climb up the ladder in sufficient numbers, but many forces combine to knock them off." Statistics in 1989 (C22) also reported that: (A.)A woman boss earned significantly less than a man in the same job at the same size newspaper, television or radio station with the same years of experience, supervising the same number of employees; (B.)The only place where men and women earned equitable salaries was at the lowest rung of the media ladder: entry-level jobs. With every year of employment and with every step up the ladder, women were falling further behind in salary. (C.)Women held 25 percent of mid-management jobs and outnumbered men in only two places in the media: as beginning reporters and on advertising sales staffs; (D.)In newspapers, women dominated only one department: advertising, which was 60 percent female; (E.)The best places for women to work were the Middle West, far from the media power centers on the East and West coasts.

24 Of the 50 percent of sources identifiable by sex, barely 10 percent were women. They documented heavy reliance on government, executives, and men as sources in front page stories. Their conclusion: "a disproportionate share of news is coming from elite sources", adding that "one should not expect diversity in news sources". The author also noted that this

journalists, is the feeling they are a symbol for their group. (Van Zoonen, 1988, pp.35-53)[22] Stereotypes about women have been blamed for the little change detected in the eight years between Hess' study and a 1989 conference on "Women, Men and the Media".[23]

While women aren't writing the major news, they're also not making it. According to a 1987 examination of news sources and news channels appearing in four New York City newspapers, The New York Times, and The Washington Post, newspapers relinquish 'news control' to routine channels. The typical sources used are male government executives. (Brown, Bybee, Wierdon and Murdock pp.45-54)[24]

These findings also seem backed by another report at the 1989 Missouri conference,[25] and a 1991 (November 1) study by Women in Communications entitled "The Invisible Majority". The report showed that while women comprise 52 percent of the U.S. population, references to females averaged 13 percent in issues of Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report published during August 1991, while men were referred to 87 percent of the time .

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was the first broad-based systematic assessment of news source diversity since Sigal's work in 1977.

25 A study conducted in March, 1989, concluding that only 27 percent of bylines on the front pages were female; 24 percent of photographs included women (and then they were usually in group shots with spouses and/or children); 11 percent of persons quoted on the front page were women. These numbers approximated those reported in 1985 by the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund; four years had brought little progress. (Gannett Foundation report, 1989, April 11).

26 Morgan, one of three presenters on a United Nations panel on "Sex Stereotyping in the Media", explained that the memo received no coverage by major news media prior to his confirmation, despite the efforts of prominent Women journalists. Morgan says she gave copies to Ellen Goodman of the Boston Globe, Anna Quindlan of the New York Times and Judy Mann with the Washington Post, all prominent columnists at their respective papers. She says all three women reported hand-delivering the memo to their national desks, where the matter promptly died.

27 Morgan also explained that two women staffers at Associated Press also had the story, and appealed to a male editor to run the memo and were turned down. The women then risked their jobs by sneaking out three lines on the matter. Morgan felt that if that memo, and Thomas' credit card receipts for pornography (embargoed by Newsweek until after the confirmation hearings) had been published by the mainstream media, Anita Hill's allegations of sexual harassment might have carried more weight.

28 Faludi (1991, p.79) claims both 'backlashes' were written about in what she defines as "trend journalism": "Trend journalism attains authority not through actual reporting but through the power of repetition. Said enough times, anything can be made to seem true. A trend declared in one publication sets off a chain reaction, as the rest of the media scramble to get the story, too. The lightning speed at which these messages spread has less to do with the accuracy of the trend than with the journalists' propensity to repeat one another."

29 A 1930's textbook authored by a city editor and a journalism professor said:"The general tempo--with the deadline-fighting element always present-is such to bar many women because of nervous temperament." They also added, "Most women are incapable of covering police and court news."

Is the dearth of women in key gatekeeping positions responsible for the above findings? Lisbet Van Zoonen (1988) refutes that popular conclusion, saying that the idea news content will change with an increase in the number of women journalists has yet to be proven empirically. She said research questions that consider the complexity of the concept of femininity and news production are needed if current research on women and the news is to do more than repeat the already known results. (The more complex questions concerning this issue will be addressed in a section on related theory and suggestions for further research.)

Some say there is no difference in messages produced by male or female gatekeepers(Bleske, 1991) or that women apply the same professional standards to news as do men (Strick, 1987), but at least one scholar disagrees. Kay Mills (1988,pp.236-52) wrote of issues which were more closely covered because of women reporters and editors: child abuse; rape; medical care for pregnant poor women; and toxic shock syndrome, among others.

The position that we need more women in positions of determining what is news has the support of Ms. Magazine editor Robin Morgan and author Susan Faludi.

Morgan feels there were big problems in the coverage of an anti-sex discrimination enforcement memo written by Clarence Thomas in 1980 while he headed the E.E.O.C. [26] Morgan detailed a scenario in which even the most prominent women journalists at our nation's large papers and wire services were not listened to about a story concerning women's issues.[27] Said Morgan, "If it doesn't concern women, it's real news, it's grown-up real stuff. And, somehow, if it's about women or tainted with women, much less if it is by and for 'a woman's issue'--and we think all issues are women's issues--then it's not real news."

Faludi points to Trimberger's documentation of the media's preoccupation with the trials and tribulations of single women.

Between 1980 and 1982, national magazines ran only five feature articles about single women. Between 1983 and 1986, they ran fifty-three articles on single women, almost all of which were critical or pitying. Only seven articles about single men ran in this same period. (Faludi, 1991, p.97).

Faludi analyzed the mid-1980s articles on women abandoning the fast-track for the mommy-track and concluded that they had a lot in common with an earlier backlash against women's rights in the 1880s[28].

Newsrooms then, appear to be foreign places for women in terms of codes of conduct and practices (to be discussed in a later section on theory and suggested research), but women aren't the only ones 'left out', according to Syracuse University

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30 Female educators of the era offered very restrictive advice to women students. "Women in Journalism: A Guide to the Opportunities and a Manual of the Technique of Women's Work for Newspapers and Magazines" by Genevieve Jackson Boughner is one example. It quoted a male editor who insisted: "Thirty percent of the newspaper woman's success, especially as a reporter" depended on making a good impression by social skills and dress.

31 The headline and beginning read, "MARGUERITE HIGGINS, GIRL REPORTER, COVERING WAR ON THE KOREAN FRONT ASKS NO FAVORS BECAUSE OF HER SEX. There has not been a name like Marguerite Higgins in American journalism since the time of Nellie Bly. One of these days, songs will be written about her." (Beasley and Theus, 1988, p.32)

32 First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt had noticed the difficulties women journalists faced even before they had to promise to give up their jobs to returning GI's. She started White House press conferences limited to women reporters. Noting that women lost their jobs faster than men as newspapers declined between 1931-33 and 1937-39, Roosevelt hoped to give women news that men reporters couldn't get as a means of helping women keep a foot in the newsroom door.

professor Catherine S. Covert, who noted that even those with a mastery of English skills could find the language of journalism foreign. (Covert, 1981, p.4). This journalistic language is mastered not only in the nation's newsrooms, but in its journalism schools.

> "History, despite its wrenching pain,
> Cannot be unlived, and if faced
> With courage, need not be lived again.
> Maya Angelou's Poem for President Bill Clinton's Inauguration('93)

TREATMENT OF WOMEN IN JOURNALISM SCHOOLS

In the first three decades of the 20th century, journalism schools reinforced the prevailing sentiments that women and journalism were biologically incompatible.[29] Yet, despite the male-dominated discourse in journalism schools, Beasley and Theus (1988, pp.17-18) explained that educational programs remained the only place women could get press credentials they were unable to achieve elsewhere.[30]

Even by 1939, leading journalism schools bragged that they were 'weeding out' newsroom unsuitables: "incompetents or misfits, and women." (p.21) A textbook from the same year offered further advice toward subserviency from one of very few 'front-page girls, Ishbel Ross with the New York Herald Tribune:

The woman reporter really has to be a paradox. She must be ruthless at work...gentle in private life...not too beguiling to dazzle the men and disrupt the work...comradely with the male reporters...able to take the noise and pressure and rough language of the city room without showing disapproval or breaking into tears under the strain of rough criticism. She must do her work, asking no help or pampering, and make no excuses."(Beasley and Theus, 1988, p.22)

The approach in journalism schools improved very little in the following two decades. In 1950, the Columbia School of Journalism's newsletter wrote predictably about graduate Marguerite Higgins, who won a Pulitzer Prize for her coverage of the Korean War for the New York Herald Tribune.[31] But the newsletter failed to point out how easily women journalists had lost what progress they had made during World War II breaking into less traditionally female writing jobs once the war was over.[32]

Journalism programs weren't nudged away from stereotypical treatment of women even by the early 1970's. A 1972 survey by Ramona Rush, Carol Oukrop and Sandra Ernst, then at Kansas State, surveyed 101 women pursuing Ph.D's in mass communication at 16 universities. They felt they held second-class status at their

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[33] Some respondents wrote:

"I feel that I am assumed to be dumb(because I'm female and look young) and must prove myself to be competent. men, on the other hand, are automatically assumed to be competent unless proven stupid."

"Both professionally and personally, women are suspect. It seems we must be better students than men and more womanly than non-student females."

"I find that as a single woman one must be particularly careful to cultivate the wives and make it apparent I'm no threat to them-that I am interested in their husbands only professionally."

[34] In the Syracuse study(Turk,J., Sharp, N., Hollenbeck, S., Schamber, L., & Einsiedel, E., 1984), women comprised 59 percent of enrollment at the undergraduate, 52 percent at the masters and 36 percent at the doctorate level, while women faculty represented only 20 percent overall. Only two accredited journalism programs at that time were headed by women.

[35] The goals of women-in-media courses included raising women students' aspiration levels by making them aware of (1) the history of women in journalism, (2) the sex-role stereotyping common to media portrayal of women, and (3) the problems of discrimination in media careers.

journalism schools: 57 percent of the 72 respondents said they had to 'do more' then men to earn the respect of their professors and male graduate student colleagues.[33]

Could the source of the problems perceived by the women journalism students in this study have their root in a lack of women instructors/role models at their schools? In 1983, researchers at Syracuse University discovered a striking imbalance between the percentage of women students and women faculty members.[34] Despite rises in the proportion of assistant professors who are women, there has been little change over the last decade in the proportion who are full professors(p. 72)." A 1984 article in The Chronicle of Higher Education said the chances of a journalism student being instructed in a women-and-the-media class by a woman who is a full professor--someone who is a role model who has attained senior status in the academic world--are exceedingly small. The teacher would more likely be someone in the junior ranks-an assistant professor or graduate student instructor.[35]

The call for women-in-media courses was only recognized and acted upon by 39 of the nation's 200 schools teaching journalism/communication in the United States in 1980.(Notable exceptions in the 80's to the 39 cooperating schools include the programs at: Columbia School of Journalism, University of Missouri at Columbia and the University of Florida.)

Feminists might interpret the absence of such courses and female professors as resistance to changes in the status quo. Hamilton (1985) argued that a feminist intellectual is, by definition, a political subversive--someone who is subverting the knowledge that takes male domination and female subordination as given. [36] Could there be similar sentiments toward those representing other minority viewpoints?

If the media are to comprehend and then to project the Negro community, they must have the help of Negroes. If the media are to report with understanding, wisdom and sympathy on the problems of the cities and the problems of the black man(sic)-for the two are increasingly intertwined-they must employ, promote and listen to Negro journalists. Kerner Commission report, p.212 art 9)

TREATMENT OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN MEDIA MESSAGES

For nearly three decades, the newspaper industry has made stabs at reform, trying to cleanse itself of the 1968 pronouncements of the Kerner Commission. The

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[36] And, possibly more threatening to the protectors of the status quo, a feminist intellectual is also challenging the assumptions concerning the nature of men and women, sexuality, and the entire range of relations between the sexes--even in the socioeconomic, educational and political institutions of all societies, past and present.

[37] A 1965 study (Ostgaard) of media emphasis on sensationalism concluded that the result is to "give the impression that conflicts can be averted more easily by preparing for the use of force, rather than by reducing tensions by undramatic means."

[38] The study concluded there was little decrease in the amount of news space devoted to African Americans between the 1960s and the 1970s, even though the highly dramatic and newsworthy confrontations typical of the 1960s seldom occurred in the 70s.

[39] Remember the Kerner Commission mandate to present a more comprehensive picture of the diversity of black life, showing that black Americans "read the newspapers, watch television, give birth, marry, die, and go to PTA meetings."

[40] Mervin Aubespin, 1989-90 chair of ASNE's Minorities Committee said in a report in ASNE Bulletin, "Our history as a nation, our principles as a people and our responsibilities as a craft demand more than a patchwork effort to build equal opportunity into the newsrooms of America. He also added that prospects of reaching parity by 2000 are "slim if not hopeless."

commission's report said the news media had failed to serve either white or non-white audiences adequately, and thus contributed to conditions spawning misunderstandings and violence.[37] An often quoted passage of the report lies in Chapter 15, which describes the broad societal issue of press performance and responsibility thusly:

> Our...fundamental criticism is that the news media have failed to analyze and report adequately on racial problems in the United States and, as a related matter, to meet the Negro's legitimate expectations of journalism. By and large, news organizations have failed to communicate to both their black and white audiences a sense of the problems America faces and the sources of potential solutions. The media report and write from the standpoint of a white man's world. The ills of the ghetto, the difficulties of life there, the Negro's burning sense of grievance, are seldom conveyed. Slights and indignities are part of the Negro's daily life, and many of them come from what he now calls the white press- a press that repeatedly, if unconsciously, reflects the biases, the paternalism, the indifference of white America. This may be understandable, but it is not excusable in an institution that has the mission to inform and educate the whole of our society.

Despite President Lyndon Johnson's refusal to hear the commission's report in person, later research bolstered the commisson's findings. A study of the major Los Angeles newspapers from the late 1800's to 1968 found that African Americans in L.A. were largely invisible to readers. Even after Kerner's mandate to the media about African American coverage, a 1970 study(Williams, pp.56-58) of the student killings at Jackson State College in Mississippi found that the local newspaper had excluded all viewpoints of the incident except that of the police.

While a 1985 column inch study (Martindale, pp,324-5)) of the coverage African Americans received in five newspapers before, during and after the civil rights movement showed some possible improvement the news media has yet to convince influential segments of the minority community that it's listening to Kerner. [38]

A 1988 survey (Sneed, Riffe, & Van Ommeron) of 117 black state legislators found the majority feeling the white press in their communities didn't do a good job of covering the black community, that it failed to report many stories of interest to blacks, and was unfair in its coverage of crime news involving blacks. A 1978 study(Tan, pp.673-681) found blacks in a Texas community felt the same way.[39]

Nor are researchers convinced there's been meaningful change, either. One Ohio newspaper examined (Pease, 1990, pp.24-37) found that "minorities have made little progress since 1965 in terms of having their voices and concerns heard, their problems heard and discussed, their triumphs and sorrows reported and their opinions considered. A 1988 (Lieb, pp.65-6) analysis of the coverage of black Americans in the Washington Post Magazine during one year's time found little neutral or positive coverage of blacks until a vigorous protest by black readers over the first issue of the redesigned magazine in the Fall of 1986. Similar complaints could have been made in Boston in 1986,

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[41] His keynote address, "Broken Ladders, Revolving Doors: The need for pluralism in the newsroom" was later published in Newspaper Research Journal's "Diversity in the Press" issue.

[42] She explained, "By some mysterious alchemy, the whole task of providing better coverage of minority issues seems to have become tied to the effort to bring more minority individuals into journalism. The idea seems to be that if we can just get more minority reporters into our newsrooms, they will make sure that we provide more accurate and representative coverage of minorities in society."

[43] The conference was held at the Poynter Institute of Media Studies.

according to a study (Johnson, 1987, pp.50-52) of the coverage of African Americans in white and black newspapers and broadcasting outlets. The study showed that in the white media, the predominant picture of the city's black neighborhoods was of crime and drug-ridden areas. The black media, however showed these neighborhoods involved in improving education, business, housing, and community appearance.

The dim picture of African American coverage media was summarized by one of the researchers(Pease,1990)thusly:

> The sobering question for the 1990s is how much newspaper structure and performance have changed in regard to covering minority communities since the Kerner Commission released its report. The answer appears to be, "Not much."

"The Kerner Commission Report, like the Golden Rule, is one of those noble standards for behavior that is honored more often in the breach than in the observance."Carolyn Martindale (1990, p.96)

AFRICAN AMERICANS IN NEWSROOMS AND JOURNALISM SCHOOLS

To remedy, or at least show progress toward improving coverage of African Americans, the newspaper industry has decided that increasing the numbers of blacks in its newsrooms. American Society of Newspaper Editor's (ASNE)1989 nose count found that ethnic minorities, comprising 25% of the nation's population, only comprise 7.86 percent of newsroom employees, and that 54 percent of dailies employ no persons of color in their news editorial departments. And as for who's in charge? One researcher summarized the situation (Gist, 1990, pp.522-63): After 25 years of "equality," the meager percentage of minorities in managerial positions in newsrooms is appalling-less than 5 percent.

There is much talk about improving the situation. ASNE's self-set goal is to achieve racial parity by the year 2000, a goal insiders doubt can be reached.[40]

Yet, there is still considerable talk of the need for such a goal from such industry leaders as David Lawrence, Jr., publisher and chairman of the Miami Herald. Speaking at a 1990 ASNE conference[41], Lawrence reminded attendees of the Kerner Commission's findings. He repeated their description that journalism was "shockingly backward in seeking out, hiring, training and promoting" minorities." Lawrence wrote, "The press, in other words, was a party to the problems that were Page One news." He also urged those attending to "...require that no job opening be filled until finalists include first-rate people of diversity. And we can insist that the people in charge must include people of different races and colors, men and women."

But others argue that the equation between numbers of minority journalists and press performance isn't such an easy computation (Martindale Aug-Sept 1988)[42]. Pease(1990) says we've perhaps paid too much attention to issues of hiring minorities and diversifying newsroom at the expense of the tougher questions of content, coverage, and newspapers' role in a pluralistic society, adding:

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[44] However, it's been argued that any alarm about minorities fleeing the news business is unfounded. Five years before this conference, researcher Ellis Cose (1985)published the result of his study of minorities leaving the news industry, concluding that minorities left the industry at no greater rate than did whites. The problem, he said was there were so few minority journalists in the first place that the loss of just a few seemed an epidemic.

[45] One woman complained: Black concerns about career are often met combatively. I challenge top management to be willing to take the same chances, to give the same opportunities, to use the same standards with minorities and women as with others.

[46] One woman editor responded, "The reality is that there is a great deal of racism in society. What can you expect?"

The more important and more difficult questions too often overlooked is what impact those minority reporters and editors have on the newsroom and-much more critical-on newspaper content and newspaper readers in the communities newspapers seek to serve.

African American journalists don't paint a flattering portrait of their treatment in U.S. newsrooms, and that's one reason why some leave the business.[43] During a 1990 conference[44] "Broken Ladders/Revolving Doors: Retaining Minority Journalists", frequent reasons cited by minority journalists for industry exodus were:

1. Feelings of not being listened to;
2. Growing disrespect for the biased journalism they witnessed;
3. Subtle barriers to advancement that would allow them to make a difference.

Minority journalists interviewed by Pease and Stempel(1990) merely want a sense of fair play.[45] The 25 percent who said they'd encountered racism in the newsroom seemed unsurprised. [46] Others commented on the pervasive nature of racism in our news industry,[47] and the pressure they felt within "a white, golf club kind of industry" to perform as their race's representative.[48]

Some researchers, such as Gist (1990) claim that minorities don't advance in the newsroom unless the diversity they represent is removed from the news production and selection process.[49] One possible way to further research this premise would be a

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[47] One black managing editor said the problem in the newsroom was more complex than merely a mirror of a racist society. "Generally, I see a great deal of racial bias, both in news content and in newsroom hiring patterns, promotions and assignments. ...In the highest ranks of news organizations (there is) racism and insensitivity. We haven't removed all the problems."

[48] Many minority staffers feel driven to perform better than others-especially whites-in what one assistant managing editor called a "super-nigger syndrome" adopted by some blacks to head off perceived skepticism from white co-workers and superiors. "We have to be demonstrably better," he said. "If one black screws up, it reflects on the rest, becomes proof."

[49] Gist concludes that in practice, what many organizations manifest in their search for "qualified" minorities for management positions is that they want people who differ in terms of EEOC statistics, but who think and act in concert with the dominant culture's perspective. Thus, the cycle continues of judgments being made by those with one perspective even though that perspective may blatantly neglect or misrepresent large segments of a diverse community.

[50] "I do not trust them. I think many of them have false faces, and while I know that there are good white people in the world and I know you have white friends, I believe that if it comes down to a white having to make a decision to give something to a white or a black, the white will always get it."

[51] An OSU-Dow Jones study showed that, in 1988, two thirds of the 20,560 college journalism and mass communication graduates were hired for jobs enabling them to practice skills learned in college. 62.9 percent had worked at college papers although there was a 19.3 percent drop from 1986 to 1988 in students reporting they'd worked for campus newspaper.

[52] Staffers also explained that fear the same people would be quoted repeatedly proved unfounded. Instead, the references referred the paper to other sources.

[53] 1. Encourage networks and support groups for minorities so they can help each other: there is strength in numbers.

2. Make sure assessments and evaluations are applied consistently.

3. Welcome honest conflict. People at a newspaper lacking diversity will not challenge each other and the people in charge on many issues that need to be discussed. Within constructive

survey gauging the progress of minorities and non-minorities in the newsrooms, and a content analysis of their output along the lines of a study proposed by Barr(1993) in a presentation to the AEJMC Status of Women Commission. Studying such an insidious method of media achieving message homogeneity all the while abiding by EEOC hiring guidelines seems even more important when one considers a 1988 survey(Anderson, 1988, pp.54-55art9) which found that fewer than 5 percent of news/editorial managers and executives were racial minorities. In another survey(Pease and Stempel, 1990, pp.64-79), 86 percent of upper-echelon, minority newsroom managers- assistant managing editors to publishers- said they had encountered racism within the industry and what they perceived as race-related resistance.

Indeed, arguing the case for diversity in Newspaper Research Journal, Pease (1990. p.35) knew he had a hard sell to make promoting less stereotypical coverage of minorities. "If the moral or political arguments aren't enough, then how about dollars and cents? From the pragmatic, market-driven perspective of the 1990's, it is economic suicide not to pursue this growing population segment, to do everything imaginable to make the newspaper product something these consumers can buy and use and accommodate as a part of their lives."

As one respondent told Pease and Stempel (1990, p.79) "You don't drive a car, don't read a book with one eye covered. Without a newsroom that reflects your community, you're covering that community with partial vision."

David Lawrence (1990, pp.20-21) said the result of a limited vision of news is profound for our society, and pointed to a New York Times Sunday Magazine piece about prejudice and the black family written by reporter Thomas Morgan. Morgan, president of the National Association of Black Journalists, printed his mother's distrust of white folks.[50] Lawrence said the newspaper industry must take positive steps to help eradicate the polarized society the Kerner Commission blamed the media for helping maintain:

> We in newspapers simply cannot afford to have anybody--and certainly any group of people--feel that way about us. It is only smart for us to bolster our staffs with people whose knowledge and perspective can save us from being insensitive or looking stupid. The idea here is not simply to improve the numbers, but to be committed to let people of pluralism contribute fully-to listen to them; to grow with them.

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limits, conflict is a price we must afford, provided it takes place in an atmosphere of mutual respect.

4. Never tolerate humor at the expense of other human beings, including, or course, "jokes" that deal with race or gender or faith or ethnicity.

5. Refuse to sanction exclusion. A company ready for the future will not reimburse executives for membership or business entertaining done in discriminatory athletic lunch or country clubs. Our newspapers should not be paying for memberships in a club where, solely as a result of race or color, some of our readers could not belong. To do so sends a clear message to minority staff members that they are not respected or valued.

6. Post all job openings.

7. Substantially increase incentives for executives to hire, advance and retain minorities.

8. Insist on fairness of pay for everyone in the organization.

9. Be fully competitive in compensation in order to retain people of excellence-minority and otherwise.

10. Be fair.

[54] Also pertinent would be information about how the media sometimes stifles social change, as they did after the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision by focusing on bombastic segregationists vowing "massive resistance" and ignoring the voices that suggested desegregation could be accomplished peacefully.

Our nation's journalism programs are also in need of the sort of growth Lawrence suggested. In an article on racial diversity, or lack thereof, in the college newsroom, authors Wearden, Hipsman, and Greenman (1990, p.81) pointed out:

> College papers do much better than commercial dailies in terms of the percentage of minorities in the newsroom, but even on campuses, minority journalists hit a "glass ceiling." More than 60 percent of college newspapers at accredited schools of journalism have no minority staffers in their top five positions; only eight papers have minorities as the top editor.

Such exclusion from management positions in college news organizations can profoundly impact a starting journalist's ability to find work.[51]

Black faculty members in journalism programs perhaps share this "lonely at the top" feeling with minority college students who have passed through the glass ceiling. "Journalism education is an equal opportunity segregationist," was how one report to the National Association of Black Journalists(Stone, C. 1988) described the nation's colleges and universities offering a journalism curriculum. Two thirds of these programs don't employ any black faculty members. Stone also found several accredited journalism programs with no black faculty. (pp.6-8) The problem was acknowledged by Thomas A. Bowers (1988) during his tenure as president of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. Bowers called the 5 percent of journalism faculty who are members of minority groups "nothing to be proud of"(p.2).

Media scholars Wilson and Gutierrez say that college and university educators charged with the training of young mass media professionals"...have been slow to meet the challenge of integration for an increasingly diverse American society...The academic professionals in journalism and mass communication remain virtually all white, and course offerings, for the most part, remain void of contextual recognition of the minority experience."(1985)

"Who, if not journalists, will call attention to the fact that most racial minorities, for example, do not fit the stereotypes? Popular stereotypes would have us believe that black Americans are not genetically equipped to do well in society outside of sport; that Hispanics are too lazy to achieve; that American Indians are too uncivilized to excel; and that Asian-Americans are 'model minorities' because they work harder than other students, honor their parents, respect their teachers, and have a strong work ethic." Sharon Bramlett-Solomon

CURRICULUM SUGGESTIONS TOWARD A MORE DIVERSE MEDIA MESSAGE

Surprisingly, journalism educators have some positive media examples they can use as examples of multiculturally diverse media practices, such as the Seattle Times staffers who decided to diversify their paper's coverage--to do a better job of covering minorities. Staffers wrote in Quill (July-August,1991, pp.24-25) that they stepped out of their "comfort zones" and cultivated sources "in places we normally wouldn't look." Their reasons for doing so was two-fold: to end the excuse that it's hard to find minority resources, and to give a different perspective than would the "usual sources".[52]

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[55] The importance of multi-cultural knowledge and sensitivity is emphasized through repetition. Students come to understand that being sensitive to and informed about various cultural groups is a standard part of a journalist's job, not an extra skill.

[56] Scripps Howard often includes such prize-winning stories in their trade magazines or in special collections or articles. Contact Scripps Howard Foundation, 1100 Central Trust Tower, Cincinnati, OH 45202; Knight Ridder, 1 Herald Plaza, Miami FL 33132-1693; Gannett

Such an approach is precisely what the director of the Poynter Institute for Media Studies suggests for papers wanting to increase and improve minority coverage. Dr. Roy Peter Clark (Brown & Clark, 1991, p.25) also recommend teaching people in the community how to reach the press with the story idea and to experiment with different locations and formats for communicating with the public.

Another helpful suggestion comes from David Lawrence of the Miami Herald (1990, pp. 18-23). (His ten steps for pluralism could also be incorporated into a survey of journalists, editors and media management.)[53]

Those structuring diversity curriculum need to remember the goals of such training and why it is needed. Communication professor Patricia Aufderheide (1991, pp. 31-41)says such courses must take into account the "entrenched perspectives of students whose convictions are shaped by both mass media and their daily experience of working disagreements. Similarly, Sharon Bramlett-Solomon argues that journalism students must be reminded of the domestic crisis the nation faced in the 1950s and 60s when the majority of the American media ignored its social responsibility to blacks and other oppressed groups.[54]

A multicultural approach to history is the foundation of such courses, usually electives, with titles like "Mass Media and People of Color". The courses allow teachers to explore thoroughly the history of minority groups in the U.S., and the way the media have portrayed these groups and their concerns. In this way, journalism students can be prepared to, hopefully, provide more sensitive and accurate coverage.

However, such courses may not always be practical for every student. To address this situation, and to reach a larger number of students with the vital information, some programs have started infusing small modules of multi-cultural information into the whole range of courses in the journalism program(Martindale, 1991b, pp.34).[55] for instance, news writing and feature writing courses can incorporate outstanding stories written by minority journalists as examples.[56] Teachers of journalism history, are

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Foundation, Lincoln Tower, Rochester, NY 14604; Associated Press, 50 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, NY 10020.

[57] She warns, however that "...if you're someone who says, 'Did you teach today, or did you show a film?' you won't have a good time with this approach. The goal is to watch, see, and listen not only for the subject matter, but also for how the artist(s) decided to portray it."

[58] Such courses should include such data as:

•Harvey Milk, the San Francisco Supervisor gunned down with Mayor George Moscone by a homophobic fellow supervisor, and his significance to the California and national gay rights movement.

•Fred Paez, "Houston's Harvey Milk", gunned down by a Houston Police Officer who was acquitted in a trial with noted irregularities. (The police officer was accused of having a gay-bashing background.)

•The first protest march by gay rights proponents took place in March, 1967 in Los Angeles over the issue of police abuse of gays.

•The present-day rift between the activism styles of GLAAD and Queer Nation.

[59] This issue is discussed in great detail in a Page 1D story in the March 26, 1989 St. Petersburg Times City Edition.

[60] This survey is similar to the one used by Bertazonni(1991).

[61] The theoretical underpinnings for the proposed survey cover many areas of mass communication research and specific theories, such as:

1. The News Selection Process and its effects on the coverage of certain groups, such as women(Tuchman, 1978), (Pingree & Hawkins, 1978), (Allen, 1984),

2. Spiral of Silence (Neumann, 1981)

also advised to include audio-visual materials, books, and guest speakers who can provide information on the history of various minority groups in the U.S., as well as the history of minority media, and how mainstream white media have covered minorities, and differently lived perspectives (not merely a textbook or teacher-delivered interpretation). Aufderheide also recommends providing discussion space to "engage that material constructively, to raise students' anxieties, confusions, and resentments and discover how misunderstandings go both ways."

Whether the material is structured in a course of its own or in modules, Aufderheide says film and video can be powerful teachers, particularly when preceded by a brief informational lecture and followed by smaller group discussion.[57]

Presentation is, of course, a matter of personal style. The substance of the message will perhaps dictate how it's conveyed to the student. But what is there to convey? The answer is: plenty! (Even if it's not in standard journalism literature.)

Important Issues for Expanding Understanding of Gays & Lesbians

Given the fact that so much of gay history has been hidden, I recommend viewing the film, "Before Stonewall: The Making of a Gay and Lesbian Community", a film which lives up to its cover's descriptions. It provides, starting in the 1920s, a decade-by-decade history of the public and private experiences of American homosexuals from around 1920 to the present day...focusing on events that led to the 1969 riots at a New York City gay bar (Stonewall Inn). Meshing eye-opening films with, (according to its cover) "amazing interviews with those who lived through an often brutal 'closeted' history" was a very effective technique to broach many historically ignored topics, such as:

- •The historical 'birthday' of the gay liberation movement and the reasons behind the Stonewall riot.
- •Origins of the word gay, which ironically, covered people who, because of society's bias and hypocrisy, were forced to meet in the "twilight world" (as it

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3. Agenda Building (Cobb & Elder, 1972), (Berkowitz, 1987), (Gans, 1979), (Curran, Gurevitch, & Woollacott, 1982), (Epstein, 1973),

4. Theories related to the study of "media homogeneity" (Berkowitz, 1987), (Dunwoody, 1978), (Dunn, 1969), (Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947), (Geiber, 1956), (Gold, 1965), (Liebes, 1966), (White, 1950), (Snider, 1967), (Dimmick, 1969) (Warner, 1968), (Sigelman, 1972)

5. Gatekeeping theory, Social Forces in the Newsroom, (and applicability to women gatekeepers and reporting of women's issues) (White, 1950), (Breed, 1955), (Shoemaker, 1991), (Strick, 1987), (Mills, 1988), (Wilson, J.G., 1989), (Shoemaker & Reese, 1991), (Dimmick, 1974), (McCombs & Shaw, 1976), (Crouse, 1973)

6. Need for Multi-level Analysis of Gatekeeping (Shoemaker, 1990), (Donohue, Tichenor & Olien, 1972)

7. News Sources and News Channels and Diversity Issues(Brown, Bybee, Wierdon, & Murdock, 1987), (Sigal, 1977).

8. Impact of Gender on Perceived Credibility of Journalists (White & Andsager, 1991), (Hewes & Graham, 1989),

9. Training of Reporters (Fishman, 1980--re: objectivity),

10. Agenda Setting and Reporter/Source Relationship(Kaid, Hale, & Williams, 1977), (Shoemaker, Chang & Brendlinger, 1987), (Gieber, 1956), (Gieber & Johnson, 1961), Gilberg, Eyal, McCombs, & Nichols, 1980), (McCombs, 1977), (Funkhouser, 1973), (Fico, 1984), (Sigal, 1973), (Miller, 1977).

11. Gender Gap and the need to revamp means of evaluating communication problems (present means exclude issues relevant to women in the population).(Rush & Allen, 1989).

was known in the early 20th century. The word 'gay' was used to describe everyone from prostitutes to ladies and gentlemen of doubtful virtue.
•Gays not hiding their attraction to their own gender could face imprisonment, incarceration in mental institutions, or suicide, however...
•During the 1920's, a time of economic prosperity and speakeasies, America's cities grew. While most gays and lesbians still lived in isolation and secrecy, a few began to gather in bohemian neighborhoods, such as San Francisco's Barbary Coast, New Orleans' French Quarter, or New York's Harlem and Greenwich Village, where freer social norms allowed the beginning of a homosexual underground.
•The many influential thinkers and authors who emerged from the bohemian subculture, tolerant of homosexuals cast out of genteel American society: Such as Geoffrey Moss, Compton Mackenzie, Margaret Anderson, Langston Hughes and Gertrude Stein, not to mention the many books with lesbian themes (more than 500 and gay male themes (about 2500)published between1875 and 1940.
•The depression's stifling effects on the early gay and lesbian movements.
•How a list of homosexuals in Germany which was supposed to give gays and lesbians more freedom was later used by Hitler to brand, and later kill gays en masse.
•How the World War II effort 'liberated' gays living in small towns across the nation, whose desire to serve their countries brought them into contact with other patriotic gays, many times in port cities with already established gay populations, such as New Orleans French Quarter, or San Francisco's Barbary Coast. The film says that after World War II, many gays decided not to go "back to the farm".
•Origins of the ban on homosexuals in the military was delayed by then Commanding General Dwight Eisenhower. The film features an interview with the WAC officer who said she'd obey his order to "ferret those lesbians out" of the war's most highly-decorated battalion of 900 women.
•The end of World War II meant a return to the oppression gays and lesbians had faced before their country tolerated them because of their needed contribution to the war effort.
•In the late 1940's and early 1950s a number of books (such as Gore Vidal's City In a Pillar, James Barr's "The Occasional Man", and Donald Cory's "The Homosexual in America" rekindled the old bohemian "wide-open mind" tradition (as described by Alan Ginsberg, author of "Howl")
• The importance of the Kinsey Report's evidence that there were roughly 20 million gay men and women in helping gays feel they were not a tiny minority, but rather a sizable proportion of the general population.
•The McCarthy Commission's effects on American society, getting people to accuse fellow citizens of any possible sexual social, or political 'deviance'.
•Leading newspapers printed the names of government employees accused of homosexuality and routed out of their government jobs after then-President Dwight Eisenhower published an order barring avowed homosexuals (many times coerced into confessions)from serving. There were suicides attributed to the publications of these names.
•Organizers of the first gay society in the U.S. (The Mattachine Society)cowered in an apartment with doors locked, blinds drawn, and a lookout posted in Los Angeles in 1950, because they were fully expecting police to break down their doors at any moment, simply for meeting to discuss their plans.
•The Society began the nation's first homosexual magazine, "The Mattachine Review, and "One", which provided the population of well-adjusted homosexual men for Dr. Evelyn Hooker's ground-breaking study which helped convince the

American Psychiatric Association to quit branding homosexuality as a mental disorder.

Other Videos

Among the film or video productions I feel may prove very enlightening for broadcast news classes, in particular, is "The Times of Harvey Milk". Other films recommended by gay activists include "Color Adjustment", a documentary by the filmmaker of "Tongues United--a film about gay black men and t.v.'s racial myths and stereotypes.)

There are many other hidden nuggets of history and current affairs which those hoping to provide some diversity about gays should provide for journalism students.[58] Other issues pertaining directly to journalistic ethics include:

•"Outing"--revealing the homosexuality of someone who chooses to keep that aspect of their life private. On a related note:

•The experiences of Bill Sipple, the Secret Service Agent "outed" by a journalist who felt it was for Sipple's own good after Sipple saved President Gerald Ford from a gun-wielding woman. Sipple died thinking that his life was ruined by the publication of that information. The journalist now regrets his action.[59]

•The GLAAD and ADL dispute over ADL's "A World of Difference" anti-prejudice campaign.

•The objection gay activists have against the use of the word "lifestyle". (The prefer "sexual orientation", because it doesn't imply choice.

•The issues which prompted gay and lesbian journalists across the country to form chapters of the National Lesbian and Gay Journalists Associations.

Books

The author also suggests such easy to read books as: "Unreliable Sources; A Guide to Detecting Bias in Media", by Martin Lee and Norman Solomon; "Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay & Lesbian Past", edited by Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus, & George Chauncey, Jr.;"Gays in Uniform: The Pentagon's Secret Reports", edited by Kate Dyer; "Making History: The Struggle for Gay & Lesbian Equal Rights", by Eric Marcus; "The Gay Decades", by Leigh W. Rutledge.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Like the movements for blacks and women, the gay rights movement has faced backlashes which author Susan Faludi has described (in terms of the women's movement) as formulaic and predictable. Hence, even as journalism instructors strive to include gays in diversity courses and modules, more research must firm up the theoretical underpinnings which show the need for such course content. The areas suggested for further study are: news media content concerning gays; the treatment of gays in our nation's newsrooms and journalism schools; the newsroom atmosphere in general.

Specifically, the author proposes and promises the following:

Adding and amending questions to a survey presented to the Commission on the Status of Women at the August, 1992 AEJMC Convention in Montreal by Lisa Barr(original survey is appended); [60]

Clearing such questions with reviewers (and the author will take any suggestions from same). The amended survey will then be tested in a pilot study(as was the first survey). (A list of theoretical underpinnings for this research is listed.)[61]

The author hopes to enlist other researchers in replicating this two-pronged study (of media professionals' training and the messages they produce) in an expanded scope (in other states or regions) to gain further insight about the treatment of women, gays and minorities in our nation's media messages, newsrooms, and journalism schools.

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METHODOLOGY UNDERLYING ORIGINAL SURVEY

This research will treat the message as the dependent variable, which depends upon the gender of the gatekeepers, and how they were trained and socialized in the journalism classroom and the newsroom.

This paper proposes two research tools: 1. A survey of women and male gatekeepers similar to that used by Donna Bertazonni. 2. Content analysis of those gatekeepers' work to examine the number of references to official/unofficial, affiliated/unaffiliated, male/female sources.

In the pilot study, 3 female and 3 male Florida Public Radio gatekeepers were contacted. The proposed later work would sample gatekeepers working at public radio affiliates in the Southeast region.

In examining the messages produced by female gatekeepers, and the reasons for any difference of similarity between the messages produced by male gatekeepers, questions come from each of the levels explored by Shoemaker and Reese (1991). The ideological, extramedia, organizational, media routines and individual levels are ripe ares to explore. 'Individual' here refers to the communicators' background and characteristics, personal attitudes, values and beliefs, professional roles and ethics. 'Media routines' here refer to: sources of routines; media organization and audience(supplier, processor, consumer). 'Organizational' here refers to: organizations and their goals, roles and structure--size, ownership, corporate synergy; exercise of power. 'Extramedia' here refers to: sources of the information--special interest groups, public relations campaigns, news organization itself; revenue sources--advertisers and audiences; other social institutions--business and government; economic environment; and technology. 'Ideological' here refers to: institutional, occupational, and cultural practices that make up the mass media.

The proposed survey instrument(used in the pilot study) is appended.

LIMITED RESULTS OF PILOT STUDY

Demographic Information

The instrument was tested on 6 gatekeepers at 6 Florida public radio stations--all affiliates of Florida Public Radio over a 5-day period. The daily feed from FPR was transcribed, and sources (measured as sound-bites) were coded as either male or female, unaffiliated or affiliated.

All but one of the respondents had a bachelor's degree in either journalism, broadcast, mass communication, or speech, and all had attended educational conferences conducted by either Radio Television News Directors' Association (RTNDA) or Public Radio News Directors' Association (PRNDA), among others. One male respondent had a bachelor's and master's degree in international studies.

None of the three women had known anyone at their present station before they were hired. One of the three men did. The average number of years in the industry was 9.5 years, ranging from a low of 3 years to a high of 17 years experience. The average income was $21,500.

There were no glaring differences between men and women when it came to either experience or salary. However, it appears that women may have headed down the public radio road sooner than the men did. The three women averaged 10.3 years of experience, with a range from 8 to 15 years. The three men averaged 9 years of experience with a range from 3 to 17 years. The women's average base salary, not including free-lance income was $18,000. However, since one of the men is granted unusual leeway by his management to abandon his regular duties for very frequent, free-lance opportunities, I calculated his income to include free-lance work--thus bringing the average income level for the men up to $20,000.

Two of the three male gatekeepers held the title of news director. Only one of the three women gatekeepers were so named. The other two women were dubbed either 'public affairs and special features specialist' or radio specialist(with a news director supervising her). One of the men was called an 'official reporter/producer'. All but one of the women gatekeepers had employees working under them. The single female supervisor held editorial meetings everyday,

which she attended. Only one of the two male supervisors held editorial meetings. This may suggest further implications regarding women's management style.

None of the women said they would discriminate in reporter assignment based on gender. Their answers to a direct question were corroborated with their responses on specific stories. However, while one of the men answered 'maybe' when asked whether he could think of any stories he wouldn't send a woman reporter to cover, two of the men checked off one story to which they would prefer not to assign a woman reporter.

"Right to live organizations re-evaluate strategy after pro-life candidates lose in primary," was one of the stories studied. One male newsdirector admitted he was unsure how he'd really react, since he said he had "never had a female working for me,", but said he'd prefer to send a male because he felt (the report)"might sound more objective. It (assignment) might put a female reporter in jeopardy of being considered non-objective."

Another story read, "New rape crisis center opens in your community the same day police report a surge in domestic violence calls." A male newsdirector said he'd prefer to assign that story to a male reporter, but said he's done it both ways in the past, and isn't certain he'd always do that. He said he would prefer that women cover women's health issues, and men cover men's health issues--an answer inconsistent with his previously described response on specific stories.

All of the respondents were white, and said they had no black journalists in supervisory roles in their newsrooms. Their were no written polices about sensitive portrayal of blacks; but one woman said they aim toward sensitivity, and one man said they try to compose racially balanced stories.

Hypothesis 1

"More women gatekeepers will remember having been told by an authority figure to disregard or not use a source with a feminist or other 'alternative' viewpoint."

Two of the men and one of the women remembered having been told either directly or implicitly not to rely upon a particular source. One of the respondents said they were warned about the source's possible conflict of interest, but said the 'advice' didn't have anything to do with 'alternative' issues. Another respondent said he couldn't remember exactly, but felt it was more a matter of being told not to rely solely on one source. He said he felt it was a marijuana for medical use story, and that the source in question was with NORML, a group with an 'alternative' viewpoint. Another respondent said such admonishments had happened but that he could not specifically recall the source or the story in question.

Hypothesis 2

"More women gatekeepers will produce 'male'(i.e., 'traditional') messages (e.g. measurable as predominant reliance upon male sources, or sources, from government or industry rather than independent, citizen, or non-affiliated groups."

Gender of sources used in the stories was not the only criteria for determining whether a message was 'traditional' or 'non-traditional'. The sources' link to government or industry rather than independent, citizen, or non-affiliated groups."

Gender of sources used in the stories was not the only criteria for determining whether a message was 'traditional' or 'non-traditional'. The source's link to government or industry (military-industrial complex) would characterize the source as 'affiliated', and a source's link to a citizen's group, or the lack of any link at all would characterize it as 'unaffiliated'.

The FPR feed during the study period was comprised of 73 percent male sources and 27 percent female sources. Women used 75.6 percent male sources; men used 74.66 percent male sources. Women used 16 percent female sources; men used 19.3 percent female sources.

FPR's feed in the study was comprised of 64 percent affiliated sources, and 36 percent non-affiliated sources. The women used 75.66 percent affiliated sources, and 24.33 percent non-affiliated sources. The men used 64.33 percent affiliated sources, and 35.666 percent non-affiliated sources.

The women in this pilot study seemed to choose slightly more affiliated sources than the men did, however, it is unwise to draw conclusions from this small pilot sample.

Hypothesis 3

"A majority of the women gatekeepers who produce 'male' messages will have been trained or schooled predominantly by male authority figures."

None of the respondents could remember many female authority figures.

RESEARCH PROPOSAL

The intent of this paper is to pretest an instrument and a methodology for larger application. No conclusions can be drawn from the findings in this pilot study, used primarily to pretest a proposed instrument and methodology. The larger test sample would be drawn from the 160 Florida radio stations(commercial and non-commercial) which have news departments, or from a population of gatekeepers at public radio affiliates throughout a 12-state southeastern region.

Researchers attending the AEJMC '92 conference were encouraged to conduct similar studies within their own state(s).

From: "Re-visioning the Role & Effects of Woman as Gatekeepers: A Pilot Study

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Appendix
Questionnaire

1. How many years have you been in the news industry?_____

2. What was your first position?_____

3. (a.) How many years have you been employed by this radio station?_____

(b.) If employed by the same corporation but different subsidiaries, please give length of time employed._____

4. What is your title?_____

5. (a.)How many years have you been in this position?_____

(b.)If you started in a different position at the same employer or corporation, please explain._____

(c.)Did you know someone at this agency before you were hired?_____

(d.) How did you know this person? a. professional organization b. political organization c. church d. social contact e. professional contact f. other

6. What are your duties?_____

7. Do you have any reporters or editors working under you?

Full-time Yes_____ No_____

Part-time Yes_____ No_____

8. If yes, how many reporters and editors do you supervise?

Number of men_____ Number of women_____

9. Do you aim your paper primarily at a rural audience, a suburban audience, or an urban audience? check all that apply.

Rural_____ Suburban _____ Urban_____

10. A few years ago an incident involving the New England Patriots and the Cincinnati Bengals, put the issue of women sports reporters entering the locker room of male professional athletes into the spotlight. Are there any stories you would prefer not to assign a female reporter to cover?

Yes_____ No _____

11. If yes, what type of stories would they be?_____

_____

12. Are there any stories you would prefer not to assign a male reporter to cover?

Yes_____ No_____

13. If yes, what type of stories would they be?

14. By what criteria do you pick a source?

15. Has management ever told you directly or implied that you shouldn't rely upon a particular source? Yes ____ No _____

If yes, for what reason(s)?_____

_____

Gender of the source in question. M____ F_____

Gender of the management person in question. M____F____

_____

16. Does your news organization have a daily news budget meeting?

If so, are you a part of that meeting? Yes_____ No_____

17. Do you ever consult other reporters or news media for story ideas before or after your deadline?

Yes_____ No___

(If yes, ask)which reporters or outlets do you consult?

_____

18. Some reporters or editors have someone they like to consult when they're unsure about a story. Do you have such a person? yes_____ no_____

Is that person or persons within or outside your organization?

Inside___ Outside____ Both____

2

How do you know this person? (Graduate of same university, former colleague, belong to same professional organization, church, etc.)

_____

19. Given the choice, would you prefer to assign a male or a female reporter to the following stories? Please check M for male or F for female or N for no preference.

A. Eight year old boy caught in crossfire becomes latest victim in city's drug war.
M_____ F_____ N_____

B. Mayor vetoes property tax increase despite deepening city budget crisis.
M_____ F_____ N_____

C. Right to life organizations re-evaluate strategy after pro-life candidates lose in primary.
M_____ F_____ N_____

D. New rape crisis center opens in your community the same day police report a surge in domestic violence calls.
M_____ F_____ N_____

E. Gold Medalist Mary Lou Retton to demonstrate techniques for Olympic hopefuls in your community.
M_____ F_____ N_____

F. Pro-choice group rallies in front of City Hall to support family planning clinic that performs abortions.
M_____ F_____ N_____

G. Local branch of state human service agency holds news conference to explain they can no longer provide adoption services unless it is an emergency.
M_____ F_____ N_____

H. SWAT team responds when escaped prisoner takes hostages at local grocery store.
M_____ F_____ N_____

I. Local women's group holds news conference to decry conservative senators' behavior during the Clarence Thomas Supreme Court nomination hearings.
M_____ F_____ N_____

J. Local Babe Ruth baseball team qualifies for regional semifinal tournament.
M_____ F_____ N_____

K. Local manufacturing company wins contract from Defense Department to manufacture new weapons system.
M_____ F_____ N_____

- - - -

An article in the August 18, 1990 edition of Editor and Publisher discussed the National Association of Black Journalists' frustrations about the number of blacks in supervisory positions in all media and the journalists' "inability to prevent distorted depictions of themselves in all media."

21. Does your organization have any black journalists in supervisory positions?

Yes _____ No_____

22. If yes, how many are men? _____ How many are women?_____

23. Does your paper have a policy regarding sensitively depicting blacks and other ethnic minorities?

Yes _____ No _____

24. If yes, what is your policy? (They may also say "no policy" and then elaborate.

_____

_____

25. Does your paper have a policy that encourages actively seeking non-traditional sources for stories, such as male day care workers or female business owners?

Yes _____ No _____

A study in the Spring 1989 Newspaper Research Journal examined North Carolina newspaper readers' attitudes toward courtesy titles. The article, "Mr., Ms. & Miss in the Land of Sir and Ma'am," showed that 40.7 percent of the readers preferred courtesy titles, 11.6 percent preferred last names only, and 48.7 percent were neutral.

26. Does your organization use courtesy titles for men?

Yes _____ No _____

27. Does you organization use courtesy titles for women?

Yes _____ No _____

28. Does your organization have a policy about using male, female or neutral identifications in official titles, such as chairman, chairwoman or chairperson?

Yes _____ No _____

29. If yes, what is your policy? _____

_____

Finally, we'd like to ask some demographic questions.

30. What is the highest academic degree you've received?

_____

31. Have you had any specific journalism training, such as a major or minor in journalism, or have you attended special seminars such as those at the American Press Institute, or RTNDA conferences?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, please explain _____

33. Do you remember having taken any courses or seminars concerning the history of women in the media, or women's portrayal in the media?

Yes_____ No_____

If yes, please explain _____

33. What is your yearly salary range? Please circle

$10,000-$14,9999	$30,000 -$34,999
$15,000-$19,999	$35,000-$39,999
$20,000-$24,999	$40,000-$44,999
$25,000-$29,999	$45,000 or more

Thank you for time and careful attention.

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